114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
● [361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once
[137] in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[136] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[484] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

578 621 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó, [123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

621 K6 578 Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the village that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that already in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned [627] from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur- [224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [224] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take [352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Ikaranchõ and his wife. Then the separatists returned to Tampiitãua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitãua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruś or koruś "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruś [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajś who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. *The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians* with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

Coming from the Karajś to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajś I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Berocomandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

[71] 301 them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tampiitáua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankurá for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankurá and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankurá complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:191] Chapter 7

The Village and the Houses

[96] 35 At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (avuyra in Tapirapé)

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[191] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[312] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
515 a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[226] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

• 361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, [621] [578] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 196 166 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] [751] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the hut to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [392] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

1:Baldus--76 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[facing p. 193]

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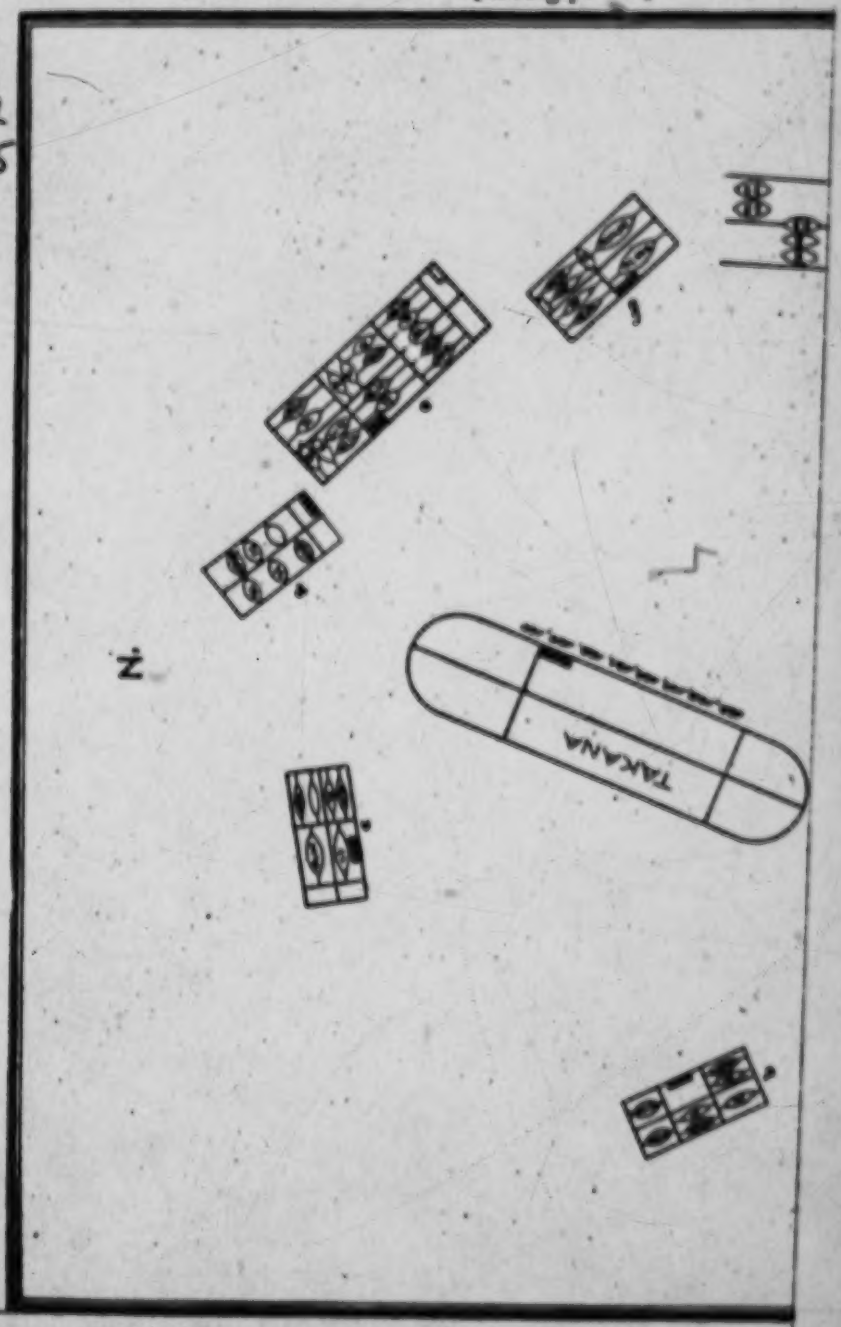

[FIG. 8 - TOP HALF]

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

[FIG. 8 - Bottom half]

1:Beldue--77 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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961 [342] size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

342 Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous [313] visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these mate- [482] rials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is [592] socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and [283] are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

572 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long thea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Bororo married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

[111:106] These data show a certain similarity between 171 Tupinambá villages and Tamplitaua in the arrangement of the • 361

houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrangement of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matrilocal. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 591 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

171 361 [111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that 171 342 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house 171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana 345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] 171 513 [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Tupi family as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos 114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270; 171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to 513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate" is ankurúg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tamplitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja, who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupí in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupí are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kaapó in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupí name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their northern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. III.]

Chapter 8

[112:51] Subsistence

The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kuua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year, February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapó attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[1] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, reorganised. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer, all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawiśho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest some three or four kilometers from it. The village had been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé society might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapó above Čičutawa in some Kayapó territory.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

EXPLICAÇÃO DA FIG. 13

600 A — Casa situada a sudoeste, em que se realiza a fase vesperal (ocaso) da cerimônia.

B — Lugar de danças, onde ocorre a fase final da cerimônia, ao fim do quarto dia.

C — Casa grande cerimonial dos homens.

→ Direção que segue o pajé, "no circuito da aldeia", na fase diurna da cerimônia.

:::::: Trilhas feitas especialmente para a cerimônia.

—‖—‖— Portas temporárias, abertas nas casas, para permitir o "circuito da aldeia".

—| |— Portas permanentes das casas.

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796 A — Dwelling situated at SW in which the evening phase (sunset) of the ceremony takes place.

B — Dance grounds, where the final phase of the ceremony takes place, at the end of the fourth day.

C — Men's ceremonial house.

→ Direction the shaman takes in his village circuit during the day time phase of the ceremony.

:::::: Path made especially for the ceremony.

—‖—‖— Temporary doors opened in each house to form the village circuit.

—| |— Permanent house doors.

[p.54]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

PLANTA DA ALDEIA — MAP OF THE VILLAGE

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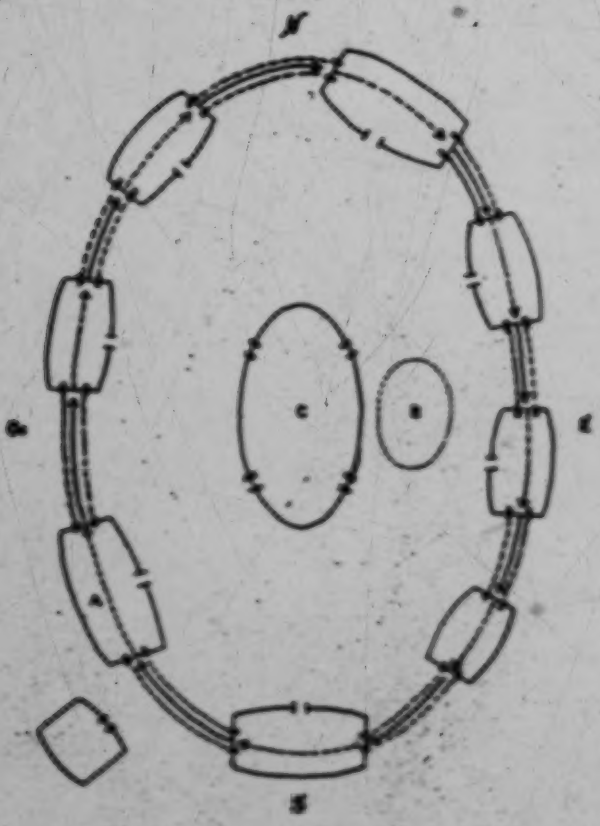

Fig. 13

Planta da aldeia, com as casas circulares para a dansa do Cachimbo do Tronco.

Arrangement of the nine dwellings of the village, with the temporary ceremonial house erected in front for the Tapirape community.

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241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistence, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village: four to eight simple families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
591 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life
592 separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

S: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP32
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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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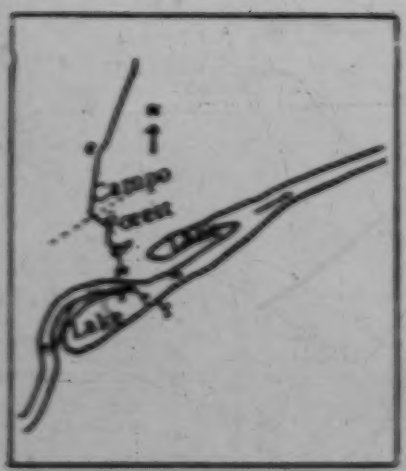

a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/406 cont./

On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the northeast. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Kanajé, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As a result of the conflicts with the Kanajé, they now avoid this

S:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP32

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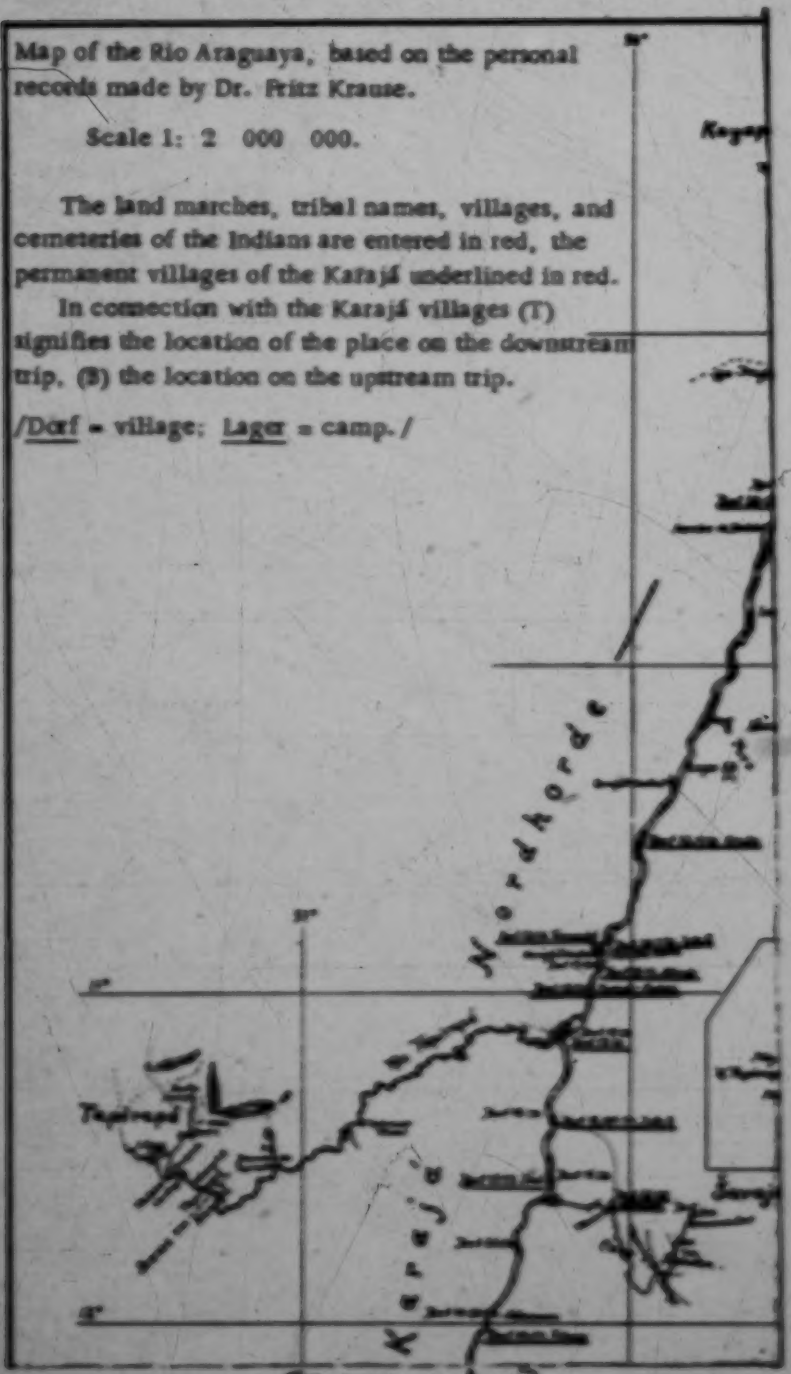
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (I) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (S) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

S: Krause--367 E-S (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
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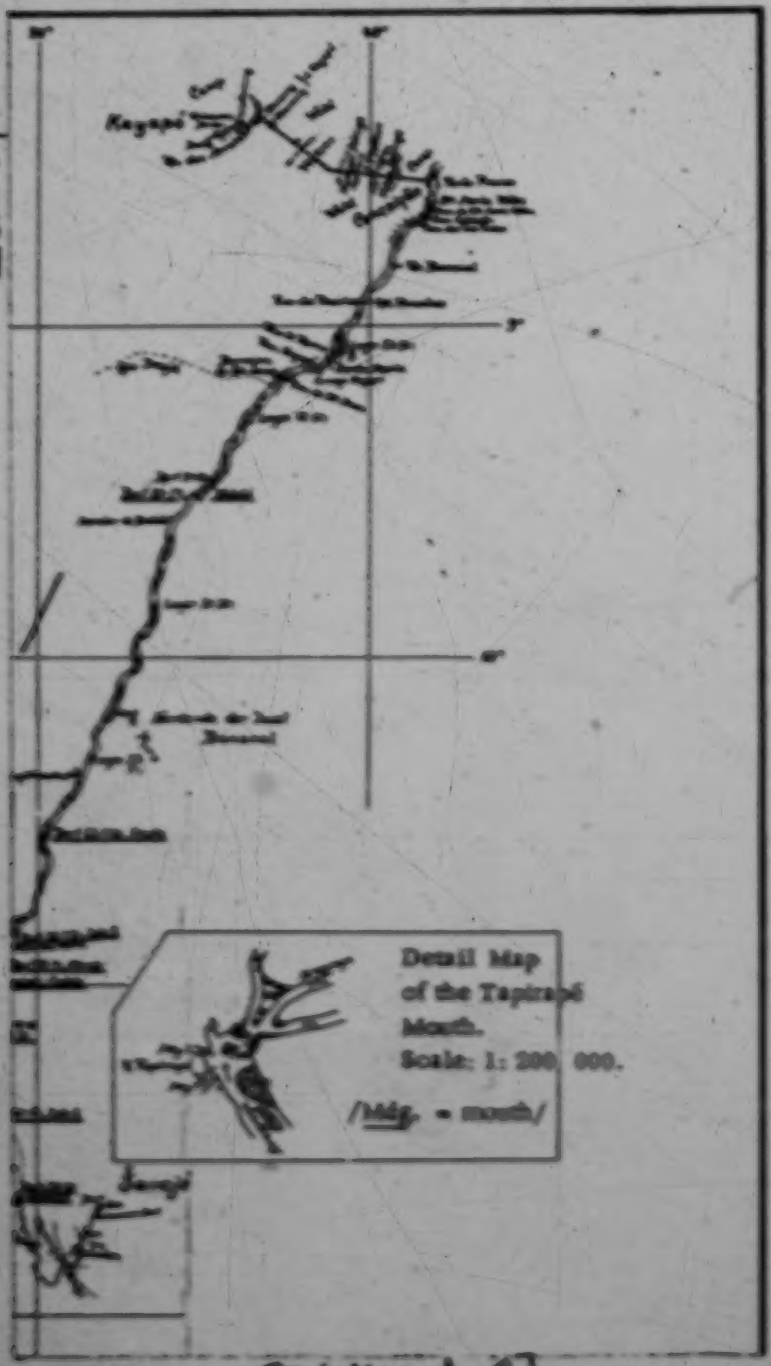

[ENJ MAP A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP92

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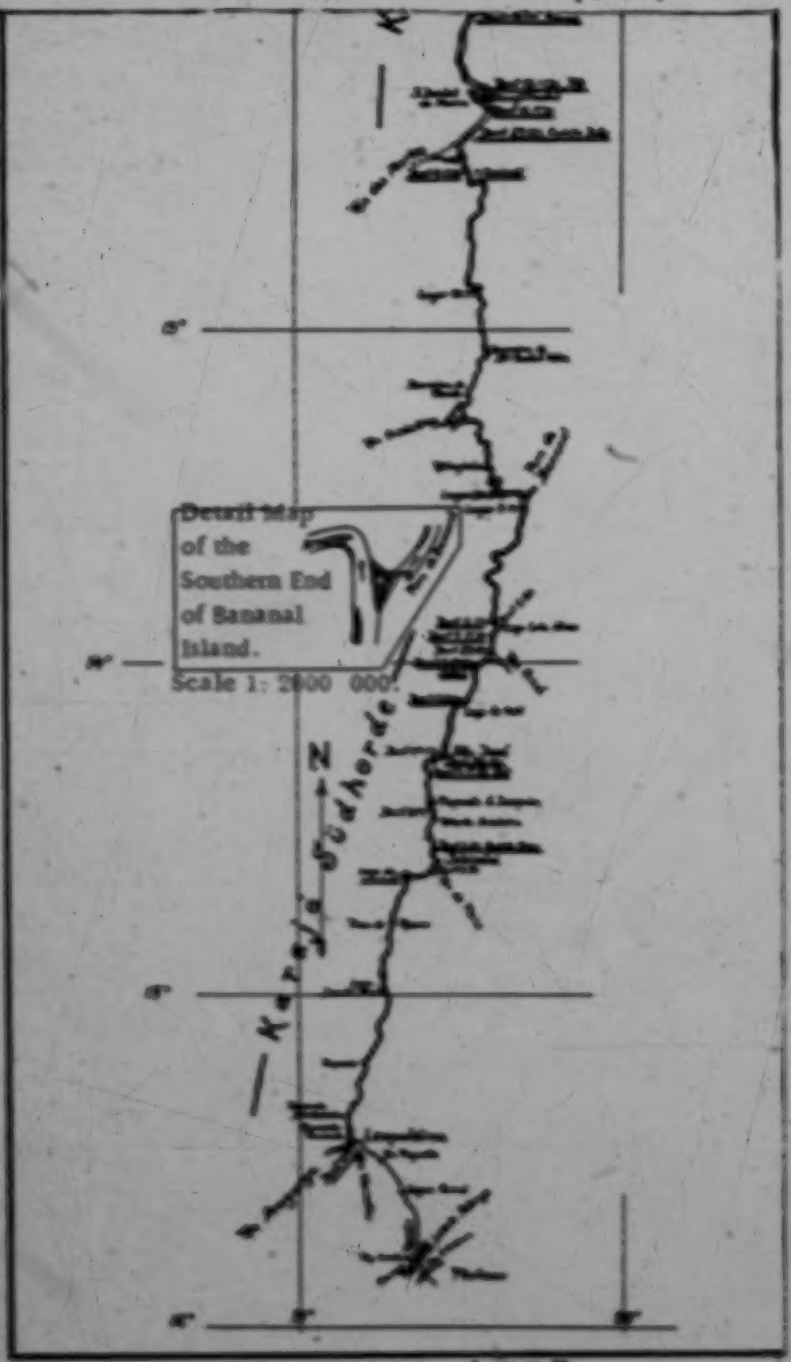

[End Map A-3]

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitfua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[61] of Tampiitfua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [132] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein
[261] and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[36] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitfua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
698 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairabé lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Manivabé, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, began to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[6] Kamairabé's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Manivabé with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Manivabé seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Manivabé's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairabé's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[7] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairabé's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Manivabé's house. These precautionary measures — the lamp, the company of his wife, and the détour — reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shaman. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[8] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[9] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our *pazés*, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[9] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical [361] ●
forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it [574]
was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural [241]
people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [494]
they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of successive culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel [756]
widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [487]
the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" [415]
(upturned gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823]
when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a bound universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Pauchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kanoaiku, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambá (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambás, comme pour la plupart des tribus américaines, certains personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des mortels ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils sont cités le ciel, les astres, et la mer leur doivent leur forme présente, celle-ci n'a souvent été que postérieurement à la venue d'ancêtres divers."

S: Krause

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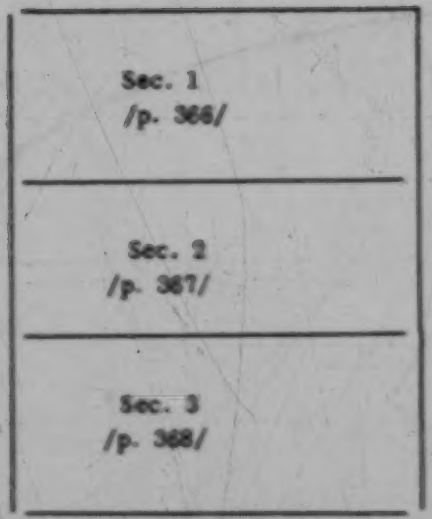

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

by Beato Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupí speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Klagsbrunn, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

12: Wagley & Galvão K-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[37] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

241 **Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their [384] villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[321] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [323] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

252 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1968) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Tapirapé do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

Wild foods.—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cunã (*Nothura* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piquí fruit (*Caryocar villosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawago, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *kwaterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of